1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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of the cows. If she went back home you would claim the cows back from her father, who is your own "father," and this would interfere with the sacrifices to your father and father's father.'

Marriage Customs: These appear to be almost identical with those of the Nankanse, as will be seen from the following: The suitor approaches the father of the girl, who refers him to his eldest brother, or father, if alive. The suitor brings tobacco to the girl's father and mother; they show these gifts to the head of the compound. Three or four days later the suitor will bring a dead guinea-fowl and give it to his future mother-in-law. This gift is called *pɔ-bore-bono* (something with which to seek a wife). Later, the suitor will send a live fowl and guinea-fowl and corn by a messenger known as *ahen* (*isiga* in Nankane). These offerings will be given to the girl's *seyr* (guardian spirit) by the head of her house, who will say: 'Receive these things; the girl has reached puberty; she is ready to go to her husband; the day they bore her, they gave her to you.' The girl now goes to the bridegroom's town, to the compound of the *ahen* (who is a son of a woman who came from the bride's town). There she remains three days, after which she goes to her husband. Sometimes the cows have to be paid before the girl leaves her father's compound; they are then known as *lay bo* (*leka* in Nankane). Sometimes they are paid long after marriage and are then called *sull' bono*. After the bride has gone to her husband's compound, her brothers will go there, and her husband will kill a dog for them, and a fowl and some goats. After they have returned home, the bridegroom will send the *ahen* with a live cock to the section-head who is 'half-brother' to the head of the section to which the bride belongs, and also a dead guinea-fowl to the bride's mother. These gifts are called *sandan* (compare Nankane *sandono*). Without this formality the marriage is not legal, however many cows are paid, nor may the husband claim adultery damages. This gift is to obtain a witness. If the woman later leaves her husband, the same *ahen* will claim back the cows.

Funeral Customs: The following account of a Talense funeral was given me by the *Ten'dan'* of Tongo:

'When a man dies I have to make the grave.' (This is not to be taken literally; he will be represented by a brother or son.) 'I go to the spot with ashes in a red pot and mark out the grave in a circle. I then dig a little and hand the axe (*leho*) to the *bayas* (sextons) and they continue to dig the grave (*yeog'*). I then begin to sacrifice. The *kunran* (the person in charge of the funeral custom) gives me a fowl (not a

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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white one) and a goat (any colour but white) and some flour and water. I give the flour-water first, saying: "My father, accept this water, drink, and give it to this earth; death has killed and they have called me and taken their fowl and goat and given them to you because they will beat your head; because of this they say that I must receive and give to you".

'The fowl is then killed beside the grave: "My father, receive and give to the land." The goat is killed and its blood caught in a red pot. The fowl is roasted whole. The goat is skinned and the flesh divided; I take a hind leg, the head, neck, liver, and skin. We all eat at the grave-side. A small piece of each sacrifice is put on the land. The corpse is brought and taken from its mat; it is buried naked save for a goat-skin. The corpse is laid on its right side, knees drawn up, hands folded under the cheeks. If the dead is a male, he faces east, because a man is always impatient for dawn. A woman is buried facing the setting sun because she is always so busy that she says, "The sun is setting, I shall not have time to grind; I shall not have time to get my husband's food." As the body is being lowered I say to the land, "Receive your thing, let it go inside nicely".' A stone is placed over the entrance of the grave. The *Ten'dan*' takes a hoe and scrapes up some earth from each side over the stone; others then complete the work.'

Figs. 64–5 show Talense graves. Fig. 64 is that of a Chief. I do not think that there is any doubt but that the design of the spirit shrines were originally copied from such structures. The shape of a Talense grave within, is, I am informed, like that already described, i.e. more or less circular with a bottle-neck. Chiefs, who, as we have seen, are of Mampruse origin, are buried in their own compound in a room which is broken down after the funeral custom.[1] The grave of a Chief is called *duye*, that of a commoner *yeo*. Chiefs are sacrificed to on the *duye* by the eldest son. 'When a man or woman dies, he or she will become an axe or bangle.'

Shrines: Talense shrines and the cult associated with them appear to be very similar to those of the Nankanse. I propose to take my reader round the compound of my friend Sɔyebere, a *Ten'dan*' of Tongo (see frontispiece), and let him describe in his own words the various shrines which are there encountered. Outside the compound walls is a pot set on stones, containing, he said, ground roots and earth. On top of the pot is a head-rest, smeared with the feathers of past sacrifices, and on top of this again, a stone. This fetish (*tim*, lit. 'medi-

[1] A room near the outside is chosen.

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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778 782 724 cine' or 'roots') is 'to prevent war'; it is called *mweley* (compare Nankane *mweleya*[1]). 'When the war cry is raised I will first sacrifice a fowl on the stone, saying: "They want to shoot arrows, and I wish to stop it; receive a fowl, and compel them not to shoot; let the women and children sleep." The stone on top of the head-rest signifies that we compel people to sit down. After I sacrifice the fowl, cow dung

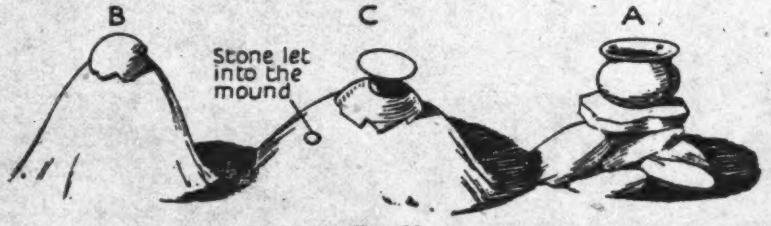

Fig. 66

and corn-cobs are placed round the pot and set on fire, while I say: "My father, call your father; let women and children sleep; they wish to shoot arrows; fire wants to burn the land, but I wish it to be cool." When the fire which I have lit goes out, the war is also burning out. The roots inside the pot are from a shea butter tree; when you eat shea butter your heart will become cool. This *tim bagere* (medicine shrine) is related to the one I wear round my neck which is also called *mweley*. I take it off and place it on top of the stone when the fire is burning. Some *mweley* are now used by Chiefs to encourage disputes in order that they may be able to fine people.'

778 [17] The above account was written nearly two years before my note on the same subject among the Nankanse.[2] I had, indeed, forgotten the latter, until I came to go over my notes in writing these volumes. It affords a good example, coupled with other evidence, of the close resemblance between the religion and customs of these two tribes, and also of the accuracy of the information imparted by two wholly independent informants. Unfortunately, the photograph I took of this shrine was not successful, but Fig. 66 A, is a rough diagram illustrating it and other shrines standing beside it. On the left of the *mweley* fetish stand two conical mounds, B and C. B is, Sayebere informed me, that of his *yab-pɔk la o bi* (grandmother and her son). The clay mound had a flat piece of iron on top covered by a potsherd and stone. C is a *Yini zug-bagere* (God-above shrine). On the apex of the mound was a piece of iron let into the clay which was covered

[1] See p. 303. [2] See p. 304.

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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778 with congealed blood and fowls' feathers. The top was protected with the usual broken pot.

'Into the first, B, come the spirits of three persons to receive flour-water and fowls; they help me to find wives and children. The second, C, is my *Yini* who sent me down and gave me life and my Ten'dan'ship.

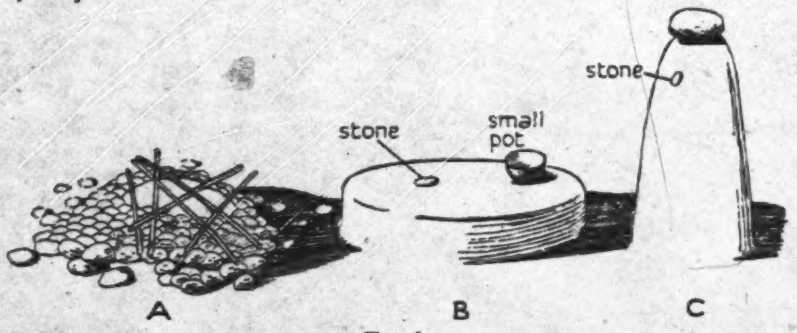

FIG. 67

It helps me to get life, women and children. God kept me formerly, afterwards he sent me.'

Facing these two shrines, and close to the wall of the *zoyo* hut, were three more shrines, see Fig. 67.

B is the *Yini* of Sayebere's father, Pirun. A he called a *Tobog'*. A consisted of a heap of round stones with sticks laid on top, surrounding a larger stone sunk in the ground. 'The small round stones are there for the *tobog'* to throw at anything bad coming into the compound. The *tobog'* is *tim* (medicine) to protect me and give me life,' he said, 'It belonged to my father'. I think there is little doubt but that this shrine was for the spirit of a man whom Sayebere's father had killed. (Compare the Nankanse *tobega*.) C was a tall conical shrine, with a stone let into the mud surface, called *duy-kpaleg*; 'It was my father's *bogere*,' said Sayebere. 'The power of my hat and skin are in it. When I sacrifice to it, I call all the spirits of the old *Ten'dan'* and of my father to assemble and drink water, striking the stone let into the side with the stone which rests on top.'

Shrines Inside the Compound: Inside the compound in the yard, called in Talene *dendɔŋ* (in Nankane *zinzaka*), is a large grain-store (*bur*; Nankane *bare*) with a chameleon (*nangan*; Nankane *ngana*) in bas-relief on the side (see Fig. 68; Sayebere's hand is resting on the chameleon[1]). This is the shrine of his father's father's wife, a certain

[1] Compare Fig. 30, which shows a similar shrine among the Nankanse.

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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Bama. At the foot of this grain-store were other shrines, seen rather indistinctly in the photograph.

One is the shrine for the spirit of a woman called Tapur, who was a co-wife to Bama, both being wives of Sayebere's paternal grandfather. Another is a shrine of Bama. There was also a large stone. 'Bama asked for this through a soothsayer.'

Moving further round the grain-store we come to another series of shrines which are illustrated in the photographs, Figs. 69–70.

In Fig. 69 A is the shrine of the *Ten'dan's* own mother, Kurug; the actual spirit is in the head of a hoe let into the clay; B, a log of wood with a stone on top. I seem to have omitted to record what this was; C is a pot out of which an infant which has become ward of a spirit is given to drink.

Fig. 70 Sayebere called a *tim bagei*', 'But,' he added, 'it is also called *anoa-dok* (a mouth pot).'[1] He was in a state of great trepidation lest I should uncover it, saying, holding his nostrils as he spoke, 'It is my life. When I sacrifice to it I say, "Mouth pot receive and protect me from mouths".' It had, he said, many avoidances; these included: Passing behind its owner when he was eating; carrying a flaming faggot past it; mention of the word moon (*mwarega*) while its owner was eating.

The fetish consisted of a pot, covered with another broken pot, a bow, bundle of arrows, and a quiver. The bow, arrows, and quiver had, he said, been added to the pot after consultation with a soothsayer.

Bogere and Bagere: There seems a distinction between these shrines so named, which hardly appears to exist among the Nankanse.

'A *bogere*,' said my Talena informant, 'you fetch from your mother's country after she is dead. You go to your mother's father's compound, and take some earth from the *bagere* of your mother's father and put this in a calabash, which your wife will carry home. She must not speak to any one except her husband on the return journey. This soil will be put in a horn and is called my mother's *bogere*. Your mother's spirit may have become an iron bangle, that is a *bagere*; a *bogere* is like a shade to a *bagere*. A man's house may become 'bitter'; he consults and is told that it is his mother who wants a room. He makes one; that is a *bagere*. After that, he will go to his mother's home and bring earth from the mound which has been made there for his mother's father's spirit, and bring it home, and build a new mound with the

[1] See p. 301.

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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new soil and the old. This new mound is a *bogere*. When the *bogere* comes, the *bagere* has become strong. When he wants to sacrifice he will say: "My mother, call your father."

'A mother's spirit has power over her son. Suppose your mother's spirit wants to punish (*ey*, lit. to "do") her son, and the father's spirit wishes to prevent her doing so, the mother will say to her husband, "Had I died while in conception, would you have had this child?"'

Among the Nankanse the word *bugere* or *bogere* is used only in connexion with a *bakologo* shrine. An ordinary *bagere* has no *bogere*, but when a soothsayer's shrine is made, in which is, e.g., the soothsayer's mother's mother's spirit, he will fetch earth from his grandmother's town from the *bagere* shrine of her father. This is brought home in a small pot and becomes the *bugere* or *bogere* of the *bakologo*. 'It gives the power to the *bakologo*.'

A Seance attended at Tɔngo: A woman had died from snake-bite, and after she had been buried a soothsayer was brought to her husband's compound to be consulted about the cause of her death. The family of the dead woman was represented by an Elder from her section. The ceremony began by the consultant holding the soothsayer's bag with both hands and saying, '*N' gyi i lugeri ka kye i nor*' (I hold your sides, but not your mouth). The soothsayer then began to rattle (see Fig. 71), and said, '*N ba Ɣin, n bol i, la i bol i banam, ka ba tana zin, mam mi nireba n zi wa, ka n po mi bay bol ma sere yi na bay de n be, te te*'. (My father's *Ɣin*, I call you, and you will call your fathers and they will come and sit down. I know these people sitting (here), but I do not know the reason that they call me. You will know what it is; give us).

He then began to sing:

'*Golugdan, Kanbung mwan lang kai bagere. Ɣi na bay surdan. Kpolebeo saam zeret; mam kpalim la popelimi koy yiri, ma mam kpelim mwee.*' (*Golugdan, Kanbung*, mere supposition is not (proper) soothsaying. You will know the one who is angry. Bad *dawa dawa* seeds spoil soup. I entered a hole [1]; I became infected with misfortune; I was obedient; now I have no house. Mother, I am still rattling). The soothsayer now emptied out the contents of his bag on the ground; the consultant held the end of the wand and went through the customary performance of picking out objects with it, the soothsayer singing the while. The wand seemed to search among the miscellaneous oddments, pounced on the hoof of a cow, on a fragment of a calabash,

[1] He refers to his having worked in the gold mines.

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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XXXVI

THE TALENSE (*continued*)

Ceremonies in Connexion with Sowing and Harvest. The Talense Calendar

527 THERE appear to be at least three great festivals which are held by the Talense in connexion with the crops and harvest. These are:

(*a*) *Gologo*, held in the month of February by the whole of the Talense.

b) *Bugram Waa* (lit. the *Bugram* dance) held in October by the following towns: Sia, Winduri, Gorogo, Wakyi, Teŋ'zugu, and Gbeo.

(*c*) *Da koom*, *Da meŋ* or simply *Waa*, (the dance) held by Bade and Tongo, in the months of August and September.

●[171] Among the Nankanse we have seen that the October festival is called *Tingana* (the Groves), or simply *Waa* (the Dance), a festival which is held by Winkoŋo, Orogo, Kologo, and Na, in rotation.

(*a*) *The Gologo Ceremony*: It was my intention to have attended this ceremony in person; hence I omitted to obtain a full description of it. I am informed, however, that during the time when the festival is being held 'every one is permitted to abuse his neighbour and even to laugh at any physical deformity, and that no one is allowed to quarrel'. [171] All this seems most reminiscent of the *Apo* ceremony, which has been described in another volume.[1] Circumstances, however, prevented me ever carrying out my intention, and a full description of this ceremony must be left to some other historian to record. I hope an account of it will be obtained before the extraordinarily rapid changes in conditions in these parts have interfered with or altered its characteristic observances.

527 793 796 535 *The Da koom and Da meŋ Ceremonies*: 'When we dance these, all our ancestors sleep. When the time approaches for the ceremonies, the *Ten'dan*' of Bade takes a calabash (*zu-gur*, lit. a head-calabash), puts it in a net, and hangs it outside the entrance to the *zoŋo* hut. When the rain falls, it is filled. Before dawn, early in the morning after the appearance of the new moon, the Bat (*Anglice* Bade) *Ten'dan*' pours out

[1] See *Ashanti*, Chapter XV.

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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NAMNAM

kills a beast, I receive some, not otherwise. I own the land in the bush, not so the *Godan*.

'Things found on the land, except beads, belong to the *Ten'dan*', also lost fowls, iron, worked or unworked, goats, sheep, and cows. A horse or a donkey goes to the Chief; these are not permitted to enter my kraal. If any one found these things and kept them, his home would break. The finder of beads, guinea-fowls, a cloth, cowries, may keep them if not claimed, but if the cowries[1] were many, he would give some to the Chief and to the *Ten'dan*'. A lost child belongs to the Chief; it is forbidden for a *Ten'dan*' to take such a one, she may not eat anything with hairs (i.e. a person).'

Tattooing: A *Ten'dan*' must not have tattoo marks, but markings called *Taavelem* do not matter.[2]

Harvest Festivals: 'Beans, ground-nuts, and new crops must first be given to the groves, after which every one may eat. Only naked people may go to the groves. A *Ten'dan*' has to be so careful not to eat new crops before the groves have done so, that, when the corn is ripening, his water-pots have to be covered over to prevent any grain from being blown into them.' He concluded the above by stating: 'Our ancestors did not come from any other place. *Na Wen* (God) created our *Taba* and allowed him to be on the land. No stranger can possess *ten-kur* (land stones).[3] Formerly we called our land Zug, and there were only thorns upon it. Then the Dagbama (Dagomba) came and ate the Chieftainship and called the land Gohe-nam or Nangoot. Our mother's children are the *Ten'dan*' of Pals (near Zuarono). They went there from this place. Our taboo is red clay; we do not use it for plastering the walls of compounds.'[4]

A rapid survey of other matters, fully described in previous chapters, revealed everywhere a uniform similarity in customs and beliefs with those of their neighbours. A more intensive investigation will no doubt reveal differences in detail here and there, but the task of recording these I must leave to others and pass on to examine the next tribe, the Kusase.

[1] See p. 378.
[2] This prohibition was, I was informed, only local.
[3] See p. 256.
[4] See footnote 6, p. 244.

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920) 1932
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Kusase

XXXIX

THE KUSASE

Tribal and Clan Organization. The Tenedan'

THE Kusase are a large tribe, numbering over 40,000, which inhabits the extreme north-eastern corner of the Northern Territories. They also extend across the border into the mandated territory of Togoland. The people call themselves *Kusase*, singular *Kusa*, and their language *Kusal*.[1] Specimens of this dialect have been given in previous chapters. They do not apply the name Gurense to themselves as do the Nankanse.

Clans: The word used in the vernacular is *budi*. A son acquires the clan of his father. Here, for the first time, we encounter a departure from the more common practice of using the totem name to designate the clan. A Kusa, if asked his clan, will give the name, not of its totem, but of the male ancestor from whom all his fellow-clansmen trace descent. On inquiring further, he will then state what is his clan taboo. This departure from the usual practice will also be noted later on among the Lobi. Here again, we find particular clans grouped in certain towns, town again having the meaning of 'area' or 'settlement' rather than township in the commonly accepted sense. The following table illustrates the above.

Town.	*Clan.*	*Clan Taboo.*
Gagbir.[2]	Zuos.	*Waf tetar* (lit. big snake i.e. python).
Garu.	Nabt.	*Sur.* (The heart of any animal).
Kugri.	Nabt.	*Sur.* (The heart of any animal).
Timpale.	Nabt.	*Tunig* (a kind of fish with sharp teeth).
Pusig.	Zuos.	Python.

The towns of Bindur, Bugur, Zabuk, Timpan, Bawk' also contain a number of Zuos clansmen. Bawk (Bawku)[3] are really Mampruse, not

[1] Kusal is so much like Mole that an officer learned the former language by mistake for the latter and was duly examined by a language board and passed, much to the amusement of critics of the said board. They had, however, every excuse for doing so, the laugh really being against those who, because these languages had different names, thought they were not related. Curiously enough, however, Kusase and Moshi do not intermarry (see p. 390).

[2] *Anglice* Kagbiri.

[3] The *Tenedan'* is, however, a Zuos,

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Kusase

173 622 793 die. He would tap the land with his fingers and say, "*Tey ya be, zagala saam ka nees tey la okom*" (If such a thing as the land really is, (here is) So-and-so who has offended and treated you as of no account, may you kill him).[1] The land will break his compound; his fowls, goats, sheep, children, wives will die. The offender would approach an Elder and "beat his hands" and ask him to intercede with the *Tenedan'* on his behalf. Chiefs now own the people, but *Tenedan'* still own the land. The first Chief of Kagbiri was my father. He was *Tenedan'* at the time when the Germans made him Chief. The present Chief is Ati, he is my father's child (i.e. son of the speaker's father's brother). My father, after the Germans made him Chief, used to delegate the work of *Tenedan'* to me, so when he died and Ati was made Chief we continued to do the same.'

177 793 622 ● 171 At this place (Kagbiri) so far as I could see, we find the Territorial Ruler (who is not a foreigner, but one of the family of the former *Tenedan'*), and the *Tenedan'*, 'his brother', working in complete harmony. The Germans, it will be noted, whether by accident or design, had made the *Tenedan'* also the Territorial Ruler. The significance of the rather curious and suggestive procedure—which I have also noted elsewhere—whereby a *Tenedan'* who, by chance, has become Chief, delegates the religious part of his duties to another, should not be overlooked. The multifarious administrative and executive duties, which the Territorial Ruler is asked by us to undertake, cannot be wholly responsible for this. This may be proved by an examination of the position of a Chief in Ashanti, where these two functions—religious and secular—are combined in one person. Perhaps the bad example set by the majority of foreign Chiefs in these parts, who were always unconcerned with local land-gods, may partly account for this. On the other hand, it must not be overlooked, that by far the most important religious duties performed by Ashanti Chiefs for their people are the ceremonies in connexion with their own ancestral spirits, in which their subjects now join, and not those rites in connexion with the land, which has tended to become alienated, although theoretically they still belong to the Stool. Many Northern Territory Rulers, while ignoring land gods, would, nevertheless, lay claim to the land. The following are some further notes on the duties and privileges of the *Tenedan'* among the Kusase.

793 [781] 'When the rain does not fall, the Elders consult the soothsayer and report to the *Tenedan'* what the *baa* (soothsayer) has told them. The

[1] Compare p. 370. (i.e. different practice among Namnam)

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Kusase

XL

THE KUSASE (*continued*)

The Family Compound (Yir) *and the Shrines* (Bagr) *which it contains*

KUSASE compounds (*Ya*, s. *Yir*) are roughly circular in shape, as are the huts which they contain, and are widely scattered like those of the Nankanse, Namnam, Talense, and Kasena, but there is one marked difference which immediately strikes the eye between the Kusase house and those already described. The former are not flat-roofed, but are neatly thatched (see Fig. 86). I now propose to describe a typical Kusase compound in detail. The main entrance which faces west is known as *zan pak nore* (compare Nankane *zenore*). It leads directly into the main yard which is also the cattle-kraal. The hut immediately on the left of the main entrance (it is sometimes on the right) is called *zɔŋ*, pl. *zon*. This hut is nominally where goats and fowls are shut up at night, but it is also used in the wet season as the place where the senior males in the compound sit and talk. When the head of a compound dies, his body is passed through a back doorway in the *zɔŋ* hut, instead of being taken through the main entrance. The *zɔŋ* (or *zɔŋo*) hut seems to figure largely on many such ceremonial occasions. Immediately outside the entrance of the compound is a grass-roofed hut without any walls, known as *suk* in Kusal (*Paka* in Nankane). It contains a shrine called a *Wen bagr* (God's shrine), a circular mound like that seen in Fig. 142 at Tumu among the Isala. Let into the top of this mound is a sheep's horn and a stone. The stone is called *bagr bugr* (the *bugr* of the *baga*). The head of the compound and others sit or recline on this flat top, and in the very hot weather the compound head may sleep on it. It is sacrificed to at the sowing season, at the harvest, and when new beer is made from the first of the crops. 'The *Tenedan*' sacrifices to the land, I, the Chief, sacrifice on this *bagr*.'

Above the doorway of the *zɔŋ* hut, through which the corpse of the head of the house is carried to burial, is a black cross (see Fig. 87) to guard against lightning.[1] The same symbol is put on trees in Kusase farms under which the farmer shelters, and for the same reason. At

[1] The same symbol is used among the Isala to protect crops from menstruating women.

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920) 1932
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Kusase

for a cloth'. When the skin is put on the corpse, the tail comes in front and the three cowries are placed on it. This gives rise to a Kusase oath *M'ba ne o ligidi ta*[1] (My father and his three cowries). Only the back of the goatskin is used; the flesh and the skin off the belly are cooked outside the compound and must only be partaken of by those who have lost their fathers.

'When a man dies, his wife's brother will bring roots which are boiled in water in which the widows bathe for three days, and after the third day the roots are buried (by a man who has lost his wife) in the cattle-kraal, or behind the compound. Each widow is then given a fruit of the *kponkporog* palm tree, from which the contents of the shell have been removed and "medicine" from "roots" put in its place. For a month, a little of this must be put in all the food which they eat. When they see the new moon, they will put aside this fruit and begin to prepare beer for the second funeral custom which is called *ku dar*. This date will be fixed by the *kudan*—the one in charge of the funeral custom—who is the heir. The first part of the funeral is called *ku-masir*[2] (the wet funeral). *Ku-dar* (the second funeral) is derived from the word *dar*, to give some one permission to go off. "He (the dead) will not go until all these things have been done." A day is fixed to begin the making of the beer, called *ku-malem* or *zel* (the setting of the funeral (beer). On that day, all the daughters of the deceased, who have married elsewhere, assemble at the compound of the deceased. Every one brings a fowl and a guinea-fowl; grain food

[1] The Nankanse of Winkogo and the Black and Red *Tendana* have a similar oath, i.e. *Kare perega la ligidi ita.*

[2] The night of the *ku-masir* custom, there is a dance at which the women choose men (*poa-leasig*). All the 'strangers' line up with the townspeople opposite them. The 'stranger' women choose from the townsmen and the townswomen from the men who are 'strangers'. A girl comes forward and touches the man of her choice with her finger. Some men will be chosen by two or three girls, another man may not be chosen at all. Such a one, *o nyu kuk* (has drunk of a bitter tree). These girls, except those who are married, pass the night with the man or men whom they have selected, sleeping on one mat with them, but they do not have sexual intercourse with each other. It would be a disgraceful thing if they did so. When I expressed scepticism as to this, I was informed that in the old days youths and maidens took great pride in resisting such temptations, and sought it rather than avoided it. The two sexes everywhere joined in games, dances, and swimming. A youth's ambition was to be renowned as a hunter, or good farmer, or wrestler. There was a firm belief that a profligate would be killed by an arrow in his first fight, or bitten by a snake. My informant said Europeans separated boys and girls in our schools and told boys not to think about women, and in consequence young boys were now always thinking about such things.

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
FE11 Tallensi FE11
Kusase

837 allow her to return.' He cuts the fowl's throat and lets the blood
783 drop on the shr[illegible] and next holds the fluttering chicken against the
765 woman's wa[illegible]gs which he cuts through. The woman then runs off to the hou[illegible]e senior wife of the section-head, followed by a man with a [illegible]e likes her, he will not flog her too severely'. There she i[illegible]w waist-strings.

765 The next mo[illegible]g, after 'the going out of the widows', one arrow
768 out of the quiver of the deceased is given to each surviving brother. The remainder, with the quiver, are then given to the deceased's eldest son, who will divide them between his brothers and himself. If the deceased had two bows, one of these will be given to a male friend of the dead man, with whom he used to hunt. The second bow is taken to the cross-roads and cut in pieces by the heir. The leather of the quiver is stripped off, cut in pieces, and thrown away. 'The funeral custom is now ended' (*kur naya*).

764 *Funeral Custom of a Clanswoman who dies in her Husband's Town*: 'If
602 my daughter falls ill, her husband will report to me or to her mother, and one of my wives will go there and stay with her. If there is not a good doctor in her town, her husband will ask me to send one. If she dies, a message is sent to me at once, when my brothers, their wives, my sons and daughter, and others from my section, will set off at once and go to her town. I do not go myself, that is forbidden, my younger brother, however, will go. They will bring back the calabash which contains the water with which the corpse was bathed. If her husband's people are few, her "brothers" will help in bathing the body, and if my daughter has not any sons-in-law to help in digging the grave, my sons, her brothers, will also assist to do so. When the body has been bathed, it is removed to the *zɔŋ* hut and rubbed with shea butter and the head shaved,[1] and *biug* fibre is passed between the legs. My younger brother will then take three stalks of *mwi* (rice) and brush one across her arms and say: "When you were alive, you had our taboos (*kyisug*); this you have to carry back to our fathers". He brushes the rest of the stalks down the right side, the left side, her breasts, and last of all, the back, repeating these words each time. These stalks are then placed on the calabash which contains the water in which she was bathed. The corpse is then carried out through the door of the *zɔŋ* hut and "shown" the compound four times—they do not trouble to

[302 17] [1] That of male corpse is also shaved. When a man's wife dies, the husband and children shave at the *ku-kweem* funeral, and when a man dies, the widows and children shave their heads. The same custom prevails among the Nankanse.

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
FE11 Tallensi FE11
Kusase

carry it round. The body is carried by her sons-in-law to the grave, or if she has not any, by her husband's brothers and brothers' sons. When the grave is reached, the body is taken out of the mat; a *baya* (sexton) enters the grave and receives the body which is laid on the left side, facing west. If the husband of my daughter is a rich man, he will kill a goat for my brothers, who, when they have skinned it, may return him a hind leg. This, however, he may refuse to accept, as he may be hoping I will give him another of my daughters. He also gives them fowls and guinea-fowls, one a dead one. On the way back from the funeral custom, they will halt near our town and kill and roast and eat all these but one. This they do, because if they were to bring them home, there would not be so much for them. One guinea-fowl they bring home, also the calabash of water with which the body has been bathed. The guinea-fowl is given to the dead girl's mother and any of my unmarried daughters. The calabash containing the water is buried in the compound farm and this becomes her grave. It is buried by a *baya*. I, her father, will kill a fowl and a guinea-fowl over it. First the heads are knocked against the ground and then I cut their throats saying: "So-and-so (naming the dead woman) take your fowl and guinea-fowl; ask for a way to pass and ask blessings (*malog*) for us". This sacrifice is cooked outside the compound, and every one, even small children, may eat of it. After that no attention is given to the grave; fowls may scratch over it.'

An old woman who has had many children will have the *ku-dar* and *ku-kweem* just as a man, but a young woman will not.

When a man's wife dies, he is not allowed to have intercourse with his other wives until the final obsequies of his wife have been held. 'If he did so, any infant upon whom he looked would die.' The man would have something called *gaba* (exactly the same name and same custom is found among the Nankanse). 'If he were even to look on a calf it would die. I have not had sexual intercourse with any of my wives for over a year', said a widower to me, the final funeral custom of whose wife had not yet been held. When the time for the *ku-kwsem* funeral ceremony arrives, the sisters of the dead woman will take one of the three pots used for a hearth, the dead woman's porridge stick, her old broom, a red earthen pot called *kay* (Nankane *kaleya*), her calabash spoon (*hee*), her upper grinding stone (*ni-kan*), and go with all these to the cross-roads. When they arrive there one of the women will raise the shrill *kyeliy* cry of women, and those carrying these things will cast them down. When they return, they

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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197 Westermann has shown[1] that the Voltaic tribes all speak languages belonging to the *Gur* group of Sudanic languages. The Mossi (or, more accurately, the Mole-Dagbane speaking) group all speak Mole-Dagbane dialects, which form a distinct branch of the *Gur* family. The people of Taleland speak a Dagbane dialect. From Zuarungu northwards Mole influence is linguistically predominant.

● 171 The cultural uniformity of the Voltaic region is equally strikingly shown in forms of social and economic organization, in custom, belief, and material culture. Though local variations are great and have important sociological implications, as we shall find, the common patterns and contents are obvious.[2]

Among the Voltaic peoples, the Mossi, the Dagomba, and the Mamprusi have centralized forms of political organization of the type common throughout West Africa. The aristocracies of the three nations claim to be kinsfolk descended from conquering immigrants who established themselves first in the country of the Mamprusi and spread northwards and southwards from there. The three paramount chiefs still maintain ceremonial ties accounted for by quasi-mythical traditions of kinship and migration well known in all three countries.

101 619 Between these centralized states stretches a block of tribes which seem to have no political unity. Each so-called tribe appears to be independent of and sporadically at enmity with its neighbours, and there is no overriding central authority. Nor does the tribe seem to have any internal political unity.

167 619 648 We owe to Rattray the discovery that these central Voltaic tribes comprise two major groups of communities. On the one side are those that claim to be the descendants of immigrants from parts of the country other than their present habitats. On the other side are communities that claim to be the autochthonous inhabitants. The two groups are found in every tribe, including the Mossi, Mamprusi, and Dagomba, living side by side and indistinguishable from one another by broad cultural or linguistic criteria. Many of the immigrant communities claim descent from forbears of the Mampuru ruling stock. Though now wholly amalgamated with the alleged aboriginal inhabitants, they have certain ritual observances and a system of chiefship similar to those of the Mamprusi. In fact the Paramount Chief of Mampurugu appoints many of their chiefs. But this is symbolical of kinship and ideological ties, not of political suzerainty. For though these communities may be regarded as the distant outliers of the Mampuru social and political structure, they are politically independent of the Mamprusi.

[113] [1] Westermann, D., *Die westlichen Sudansprachen und ihre Beziehungen zum Bantu*, pp. 121 ff.; and in Rattray, R. S., *Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland*, chap. iv.

[2] The literature on this area is scanty and of very unequal value. The following are the most informative ethnographical monographs, in order of reliability: Rattray, op. cit.; Delafosse, op. cit.; Labouret, H., *Les Tribus de Rameau Lobi*, Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie, Paris, 1931; Tauxier, L., *Les Noirs du Soudan*, Paris, 1912; id., *Les Noirs du Yatenga*, Paris, 1917; Dim Delobsom, A. A., *L'Empire du Mogho-Naba*, Institut de Droit Comparé, Études de Sociologie et d'Ethnologie juridiques, Paris, 1932; Cardinall, A. W., *Natives of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast*, London, 1925.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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The institution distinctive of the autochthonous communities is the office of 'Custodian of the Earth'. This ritual office, involving priestly functions in connexion with the cult of the Earth, is found among many West African peoples from the Senegal to the mouth of the Niger. In the Voltaic region it is the exclusive prerogative of the autochthonous communities.

The ethnographic picture of to-day suggests that the population of the Voltaic region was, in the past, constantly being redistributed by migrations of small groups. In the absence of written records that is all we can say. The fact that such migrations have gone on in the recent past, and are still going on in the central area, suggests that these migrations were (as they are) the result rather of ecological pressures and social forces than of large-scale conquests. But marauding slave-raiders may have been a cause of migrations in some areas. Two of the most notorious, Samory and Babatu, were spreading devastation in the north-western parts of the region at the time when the French and the British were partitioning the country during the last decade of the nineteenth century.

Physically, culturally, in their economic organization, and their social and political structure, the people of Taleland are typical in every respect of the tribes of the central Volta region.

General Characteristics of the Tallensi

The people of the central Volta region are of negroid stock. They are not a notably fine physical type, but the best of them are attractive physical specimens, as may be seen from the photographs in this book. Head measurements of thirteen Tale men gave an average C.I. of 74·7. The predominant head type appears to be dolichocephalic. In skin colour they vary from black through chocolate brown to bronze, which the natives call 'red' (*bon-ze'e*) and regard as the most attractive bodily hue. Their hair is of the usual negroid peppercorn type. They have also the typical negroid nasal and lip forms, but the very broad, flat nose and markedly everted lips are not so common as in the tropical forest belt. Both men and women are of medium stature, the men being slightly the taller. Anybody over 5 ft. 7 or 8 in. is considered tall. Though they are mostly slight in build, all the somatic types with which we are familiar may be seen among these people: the stocky pyknic, the slim asthenic, the stalwart athletic, to use Kretschmer's terminology, are all common. Fat men or women, however, are very rare. Climatic conditions, density of population, and a primitive agricultural technique[1] all conspire to keep the average standard of nutrition low. In the best seasons the natives grow only enough cereals for their needs.[2] Their animal husbandry provides little surplus to exchange for cereals, and they have no crafts worth speaking of. The labour they supply to richer parts of the Gold Coast contributes very little return by way of foodstuffs to the home community. Like most subsistence farmers in Africa, their diet is notably deficient in animal protein.

[1] *Vide* Lynn, C. W., op. cit.

[2] This aspect of Tale economics is more fully discussed in Lynn, op. cit., and in Fortes, M. and S. L., loc. cit.

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has brought them. But in the background there still lurk traces of fear and suspicion, a sense of the inscrutability of the white man.

The influence of British rule has naturally been most marked in Tale political life. At first it was directed towards two main ends: to maintain the peace between the Administration and the native communities as well as amongst the latter, and to ensure a sufficient supply of labour and local materials from the native population for keeping up roads and rest houses. The Administrative officers laid down boundaries, meted out justice, and backed up chiefs and headmen, mostly appointed by themselves, in the exercise of coercive powers over the mass of the people. Nothing was known about the country or the people, and the Administrative officers had to rely on their own sense of justice and their own ideas of what was in the interests of the population. The natives look back on this period with few regrets. They describe it as a time when extortion was widely practised not only by the police, the soldiers, the interpreters, and others who stood between them and the District Commissioners, but also by their newly empowered chiefs and headmen. They learnt to think of any official or unofficial servant of the white man as armed with arbitrary authority which it would be futile to resist.

The outstanding political changes due to this period were the authority given to chiefs and headmen, and the unofficial tribunals held by them. These grew up gradually out of the need to keep the peace; for the ancient method of settling disputes was by negotiation backed by armed self-help. From the native point of view the most valuable relic of this period is the embryonic legal system which grew up then. Armed self-help has disappeared, but some of the values connected with it remain. The other institutions of the native political organization retain their vigour. They function side by side with the institutions imposed by British rule, for they serve different ends and correspond to different values. It is often an uneasy partnership leading to insoluble conflicts. Most of the political troubles of the Tallensi since 1921 can be traced to the clash between interests and loyalties springing from the native political system and those created by the new political dispensation and its accompanying economic changes. For the first time in its history a few men of outstanding wealth have arisen in Taleland by extorting goods and services from their fellows on the strength of their political powers, or by exploiting opportunities due to the opening up of the country. And this has brought social friction in its train.

This period of British rule came to an end about 1931. Between 1931 and 1936 the Administration undertook a complete political reorganization of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast. The principles of what is commonly called Indirect Rule were applied. Native Authorities were established, a graded scale of direct taxation was introduced, a policy of economic development was started, and social services were multiplied. The effects of this policy will not be discernible for some years.

Taleland is a very small portion of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast. But in its culture and social structure, as in its geography and climate, it is typical of the whole plateau north of the Gambaga scarp.

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Administration) of Navrongo or the Bulisi (Builsa) of Kanjaga district, whose tongues are not intelligible to Mole or Dagbane speakers.

In the same way it is well known that the Kusaasi, Namnam, Gorənsi, and Tallensi are more closely allied in culture *inter se* than they are with other neighbouring 'tribes'. In this part of West Africa one can often tell where a person comes from by his facial cicatrizations.[1] People of these four groups all have the same facial marks, a slashed scar (*bɛn*) running diagonally downwards from the bridge of the nose across one or both cheeks, which are, in addition, often embellished with a neat tracery of tiny incisions (*yiis*) spreading in herring-bone lines over the forehead and down to the neck. These markings are an emblem of their cultural uniformity, as compared with neighbouring groups. Mamprusi and Mossi, frankly contemptuous of their nakedness and poverty, lump them all together under the sobriquet 'Gorənsi'. Since the coming of the white man they have been called 'the Farafaras' and they are beginning to accept this appellation, which is said to be derived from one of their customary expressions of greeting, *ni i fara-fara-fara*.

There are, in short, no precise linguistic or cultural boundaries between these four groups. Nor are there precise political or structural boundaries between them. They overlap with one another in every way; and further research would, I am certain, show that the Kusaasi, Namnam, and Gorənsi also overlap to some extent with their neighbours other than the Tallensi. At the same time, each of these four groups is considered by members of the other three and by its own members to be in some way a distinct territorial, linguistic, and cultural group. It is, however, a distinction of degree, not of kind. Each group comprises a cluster of communities which have more in common among themselves, linguistically and in the details and nuances of custom, belief, and values, than any of them have with other neighbouring communities. They have closer social ties among themselves than any of them have with their other neighbours, though they have no apparent political unity and never, in the past, combined for war against external enemies or for common defence.

This largely implicit feeling of their difference from neighbouring dialect areas which prevails amongst such a cluster of communities is not based on a conception of tribal unity. Sharp distinctions of custom, belief, and values, as well as of structural relationships, are recognized within the cluster. They are, indeed, of fundamental importance for the social interrelations of the communities making up the cluster. On the same principle as before, the cluster is subdivided into smaller constellations of communities which have more in common, closer bonds, *inter se*, than any of them have with other communities. Culturally, and structurally, as we shall discover in the course of our study, society in the Volta region is built up on a segmentary principle. The degree of unity, coherence, autonomy, or singularity of a socio-geographic segment of

[1] These distinguishing facial marks were noted by the first European traveller who visited the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, the Frenchman Binger. Cf. Binger, Capitaine, *Du Niger au Golfe de Guinée*, 1893, vol. ii, pp. 34–7. For diagrams of these markings see Armitage, C. H., *The Tribal Markings and Marks of Adornment of the Natives of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast*, Royal Anthropological Institute, 1924, especially figs. 4, 6, 26.

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173 ideological significance as a counterweight to the Mosuor legend and
811 as a dogma of prior habitation.

[171] In the Sie district the Sawalɔg people, whose political and ceremonial relations with the Sie Namoos are exactly parallel to those of Gbizug with Tongo, also declare that their ancestor came into being miraculously, self-generated. In the identical phraseology of the people of Gbizug and Wakii, they say, 'Our ancestor descended from Heaven', or 'Our ancestor sprouted from the earth'. I once challenged the clan-head of Sawalɔg to prove how this was possible. His answer, shrewdly rationalistic, deserves to be recorded. 'We have not heard that our ancestor came from any other land. We have no other land to return to as the Sie people (immigrant Namoos) have. If they desecrate (*sayəm*, lit. spoil) the land here, they return to their (original) land yonder (at Tongo). That is why we say that we have descended from Heaven'—an interpretation which coincides with that of Saɣəbazaa, the Namoo.

173 The covenant between Mosuor and Tɛndaan Gɛnət, again, accords
177 well with a myth which is but a projection into the unchallengeable past
622 of the present-day relationships between Gbizug and Tongo. The amorphous and unstandardized myths of origin with which the Hill Talis are satisfied symbolize the remarkable social integration they had achieved before their subjugation by the British in 1911. For nowadays the Hill Talis are rent by factions and by an intestine struggle for power amongst the various ritual office-holders. Rival claims are validated by citing established custom, by appealing to the memories of men, or, in the last resort, by the fabrication or distortion of myths of origin. The Administration recognizes as chiefs only those clan heads whose title is derived directly or indirectly from the Paramount Chief of the Mamprusi. Hence we find the Gəlibdaana of Tɛnzugu justifying his pretensions to recognized chiefship by concocting, for the benefit of a white inquirer, a story of how the founder of his lineage migrated thither from Mampurugu—a story which his enemies scoff at. The Sii Bəɣaraan, on the other hand, tries to strengthen his claim to precedence by alleging not only a Mampuru origin for his ancestors, but also that they were the very first to come and settle on the Hills.

173 These new myths are part of the defensive ideologies engendered by social conflict, but they follow the axioms of Tale thought. The Tallensi have no conception of a mythological or historical past of their society when people lived and behaved differently from to-day. The past is but an extension into the days of their forefathers of the life of to-day on the same rational plane of existence. Their history is to them not a sequence of events or a progression but a continuity. All that matters of the past, which lies beyond the span of man's recollection, lives on in the social structure, the ideology, the morality, and institutions of to-day. These are the palpable proofs of things that happened '*oh ho, ti banam ni ti yaanam ni*—in the days of our forefathers and ancestors'; one can infer from them what must have been the state of society in those far-off times. Conversely, the social arrangements which prevail to-day are valid, sensible, and appropriate not only because they achieve desired ends but also because *banam ni yaanam ndaa piil na*—the forefathers and ancestors

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CHAPTER V

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE NAMOOS

The Distinctive Ritual Observances of the Namoos

602 648 CLUSTERED about the chain of sub-clans that makes up the clan of Mosuor biis are a number of other Namoo communities. None of them has ties of clanship with Mosuor biis; yet the latter speak of them as *ti buurət*, our stock, or *ti mabiis*, our kin. The emphasis here is on the common Mampuru origin claimed for all Namoos. It is widely known among the Tallensi that groups of people claiming to be of Mampuru origin are found scattered throughout the Northern Territories and the adjacent parts of the French Haute Volta. Though they have no political or social ties with them, Tale Namoos assert that they are of the same stock (*buurət*) as the Mossi in French territory, the Dagomba in British territory, and the various clans claiming Mampuru origin among the Gorisi, the Namnam, the Kusaasi, the Bulisi, and other neighbouring groups.

171 784 Whether or no these peoples reached their present locations by migration from Mampurugu, it is a fact that they all have certain ritual observances in common, and most of them keep up quasi-political or ceremonial ties with the dominant section of the Mamprusi, who share these distinctive ritual observances. In all these groups of people a man's first-born son and first-born daughter may not eat the domestic fowl, are forbidden, during their father's lifetime, to wear any of his garments or his quiver [764] and to enter or even look into his granary. Amongst all of them a man's corpse is girded with a goatskin loin-cover (*ba suona buu*) ritually decorated with three cowrie shells; and one of their most solemn oaths is to swear by 'my father and his goatskin and his three cowrie shells (*mba ni u buu ni u ligəri ata*)'—a reference to this burial custom.

184 784 These are infallible tests. A number of other ritual observances and doctrines mostly connected with mortuary and funeral ceremonies are also distinctive of Namoos. Thus, if a man is survived by his first-born son and daughter, or by either, special rites are performed to release them from the taboo on using their father's garments, weapons, and granary; and the concluding rites of a Namoo funeral are also distinctive. But these ritual observances and the notions connected with them vary in detail and nuance from clan to clan and even between segments of a single clan. Some Namoo clans and clan segments have discriminative totems similar to those of non-Namoo clans in addition to the first-born child's avoidances. They may be totems associated with the locality in which they have settled, as for instance the leopard avoidance of the people of Dkoog (Winkogo); or they may be totems symbolizing the mythical event to which the clan or lineage in question attributes its original differentiation from other like units, as, for instance, the avoidance of the crocodile (*baŋ*) by one major segment of Bayana yidəm at Sie. Special myths often validate these avoidances, which serve thus to distinguish a particular clan or lineage from other Namoos in Taleland.

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We have noted that Tale culture is homogeneous. Thus the totemic taboos of the Tale Namoos and their characteristic funeral rites, distinctive as they are, are homologous in form and function with the totemic observances and funeral rites of non-Namoos. We shall see the evidence for this when we examine the more elaborate differentiation of Talis and other non-Namoo clans and lineages by totemic and other ritual observances. Tallensi know this and take it for granted, as they also take for granted variations in the ritual observances of different communities which are presumed to have identical ritual forms. They attribute such variations to the influence of neighbouring communities. In fact the homologous usages of neighbouring communities have features in common which do not occur among more widely separated clans with the same practices.

But the taboos of the first-born and the goatskin loin-cover of the dead are fixed and unalterable. All Tallensi know that these are the distinguishing *kiha* (sing. *kihər*)—literally, forbidden things, but meaning ritual injunctions as well as prohibitions—of all Namoos, 'from Dagbon to Mooga', as the natives say.

Namoos say that they observe these *kiha* 'because it is the custom of our ancestors (*ti yaab yɛl nia*)'. They require no other explanation, but accept such ritual observances as facts of immemorial antiquity and part of the fixed order of society. The taboo of the fowl is the only one of these observances for which a myth of origin exists, and this is typical of the Tale myths purporting to account for the origins of totemic avoidances, being apparently trivial in content and neutral in emotional tone. Considering the fluid form and content of such myths and the fact that they are never deliberately taught, this myth is remarkably consistent in outline among Namoo clans in Taleland.[1] Tallensi display no interest in the private myths of any social group other than their own, and therefore make no secret of these myths. Knowledge of them is not deemed to be a necessary condition of adherence to the tenets they enshrine. Most young Namoos and many older men, even those who have themselves to observe the fowl taboo—an onerous enough restriction in a society whose chief sacrificial animal is the fowl—are ignorant of or but hazily acquainted with the myth. The men who know it tell it without reticence.

Significance of the Totemic Taboos of the Namoos

The fowl taboo, Namoos say, came about because 'a fowl did a great service to our ancestor'. He had a wife, and people came to her with slander of her husband, trying thus to persuade her to leave him. This made her very unhappy. But one day a broody hen sitting in the woman's grinding room told her not to weep. When her husband returns from the farm she must prepare a drink of flour-water for him, said the fowl, and it would fly up and dash the calabash from his hand. If he then killed the fowl in anger the woman would know that he was a wicked man, and if he spared it she would know that people were slandering him maliciously. When the man came home, the plan was carried out. Far from injuring

[1] Different versions of the myth are found among Namoos outside Taleland, but the central theme is the same. All versions stress the point that the intervention of a fowl was responsible for the birth of the clan.

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'brethren' (*mabiis*) and, in fact, this brotherhood includes also the *Bɔya* of all the clans, Tallensi or non-Tallensi, that take part in the cycle of the Great Festivals.

The idea reflects the sense of belonging to a wider politico-ritual community than their own local cluster of clans that is at the back of every Talaŋ's mind. This notion of the unity of their External *Bɔyar* cult is especially strong among the Hill Talis, though each congregation has its distinctive variants of some of the ritual conventions. Hence a man who has been initiated into the cult at the *Bɔyar* at which his own lineage worships can be present at sacrifices at the *Bɔyar* of any other congregation of Hill Talis, whereas a Zubiuŋ or a Tongo man would not be admitted to the ceremony. This corresponds to the close interlocking of clan with clan and lineage with lineage among the Hill Talis by spatial, clanship, and ritual ties.

It is the same with the cult of the Earth. All Earth shrines (*tɔŋgbana*) are 'brethren' (*mabiis*), the localized places of worship, for defined social groups, of the universal Earth (*Tɛŋ*). The pattern of doctrine and ritual practice of the Earth cult has a much greater uniformity over a wider area than that of the *Bɔyar* cult. In comparison with the practices of the Hill Talis, the *Bɔyar* cult among all the other non-Namoo clans of Taleland appears to be whittled down to its barest essentials of rite and belief, and outside the Hill Talis, different *Bɔyar* congregations are strictly exclusive of one another. In the cult of the Earth identical beliefs and dogmas, norms of conduct, ritual conventions, and social settings hold throughout Taleland. Indeed this is true of the whole of the Northern Territories.[1] This reflects the fact that the economic relations of man to land are practically identical for all the peoples of this area; that the social relations of men, as these are determined by their occupation and exploitation of land, are all of the same pattern throughout this area; and that their mystical notions of the Earth are identical. Tallensi sum this up in the idea that 'the Earth is indivisible (*tɛŋ la pu bɔkɔra*)'.

Bɔyar and *Tɛŋ* are the foci around which interclan and interlineage associations crystallize out and through which the two dominant religious conceptions of the Tallensi act as the mechanisms and the sanctions of loyalty, amity, co-operation, and respect for one another's corporate rights between genealogically independent units. And these two foci of ritual consolidation are complementary. In spatial relations every maximal lineage belongs to one set of adjacent lineages in the *Bɔyar* cult and to a different set of adjacent lineages in the Earth cult. It has, there-

[1] The cult of the Earth is a prominent feature of native religion throughout West Africa. The form it takes in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast is common, in its main outlines, to all the peoples of the Sudanese Zone. Cf. references to it *passim* in the previously cited works of Delafosse, Tauxier, Labouret, and Monteil, *Les Bambarra du Segou et du Kaarta*. Rattray, op. cit., gives many data on the cult as found in the Northern Territories, but his interpretations of these data are open to question. He gives much information on its Ashanti form in his works on the Ashanti. The best information from Nigeria is given in C. K. Meek's *Law and Authority in a Nigerian Tribe*. A point of importance is that there is no convincing evidence of the Earth being personified as a 'Goddess' in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast—certainly not among the Tallensi—as Rattray and Meek claim is the case for the Ashanti and the Ibo.

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men declared fervently '*ti a dɔyam*—we are consanguineous kin'. Let no one betray this kinship in the future; and if a man of either clan does so, let the ancestors and the Earth visit punishment on him. *Dɔyam* was used here to express in the most emphatic way both the state that it was desirable to maintain between the two clans and the special cordiality they felt for one another on this signal occasion of a ceremonial reconciliation after a long breach in their good relations. Similarly, when Tallensi wished to express particular cordiality towards, and confidence in, me they used to say, with great self-satisfaction, '*Nyɛn pana ɛŋ ti dɔyam*—you have now become our kinsman'.

The concept *dɔyam* is the link between the individual's notion of ritual collaboration as a function of kinship and the common idea that ritual collaboration between corporate units is a sign of a corresponding genealogical connexion. For consanguineous kinship[1] is the fundamental condition that permits individuals to join together in a common ritual activity, and the individual's scheme of ritual values is linked to his social frame of reference through the medium of his kinship ties. It is in his relations with his consanguineous kinsfolk that a person has the most direct experience of that amity and solidarity which are assumed to be intrinsic to all ties of ritual collaboration.

The Network of Structural Ties among the Gɔrisi and in the Sie District

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The intricate network of structural ties and cleavages that links the Talis clans and lineages among themselves stretches across into the country of the Gɔrisi. There, at Bɔlɔga, at Zuarungu, and elsewhere, we find similar aggregations of local clans and lineages, differentiated from one another and interlinked in a similar pattern to that which we discovered among the Talis; but from the superficial inquiries I was able to make, it seemed that the organization is much less elaborate among the Gɔrisi than among the Talis. These clusters of Gɔre clans and lineages adjacent to the Tallensi are hooked on to the Tale cluster by intercalary lineages such as the Biuk Namoos and Sanaab biis at Bɔlɔga. Thus, Sanaab biis are connected with Ba'ari (cf. p. 88) both by spatial proximity and by ties of clanship, but they lie outside the social horizon of an average member of any of the Hill Talis clans.

The same pattern of interlinked structural ties is found also among the non-Namoo clans and lineages of the Sie district, but again it is not so elaborate and complete a system as that of the Talis. In this district we find the same type of composite clan bearing a local name, considering itself a unit, expressing its corporate identity and solidarity in its relationship to *bɔyar* and *tɛŋ*, and composed of relatively autonomous maximal lineages each with its own lineage head holding a particular ritual office. Again we find contiguous maximal lineages linked with one another by ties of clanship and of clanship-by-courtesy.

But in this area the chains of linkage are more variable than among the Talis. Political and territorial ties often unite neighbouring groups which

[1] As opposed to affinal kinship (*deen*) which is the prototypical social relationship that excludes sacrificing together.

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among the Talis would be linked by clanship as well. There is therefore greater variation in the degree of overlapping between the fields of clanship of contiguous lineages than among the Talis.

Some clans in this area are closed units forming by themselves a miniature replica of the whole system. Thus, Duusi proper consists of three maximal lineages, bound together by ties of clanship, but none having clanship ties with any other lineages or clans. These three lineages are said to be 'consanguineous kin with one another (*dɔɣam ni taaba*)'. But there is no myth to account for their coalescence, nor is it rationalized by genealogical fictions. They are structurally differentiated in a similar way to the maximal lineages of Zoo. Thus, one lineage has the exclusive right to the chiefship, another to the tɛndaanaship, and the third to the ritual office of Yiraan, which holds the balance between chiefship and tɛndaanaship. The ritual observances of the three maximal lineages differ from one another and they have no common ancestral *bɔɣar*. One focus of integration for the whole of Duusi is the supreme *tɔŋgban*, Ziug, whose custody is vested in the lineage that holds the tɛndaanaship, but whose cult requires the co-operation of the other lineages as well. The other focus of integration is the chiefship, which demands both political co-operation and ritual collaboration among all three maximal lineages.

The loose articulation of this set of clans as compared with the Talis is reflected in their lack of a common appellation. One reason for this, no doubt, is that the line of cleavage between Namoos and non-Namoos in terms of structural relations, ritual observances, and politico-ritual roles and offices, is not so clear cut as in the Tongo district. At Sie, where it is most precise, the Namoos are identified as *naditib*, those who hold (lit. eat) the chiefship, in contraposition to the *tɛndaanditib*, those who hold the office of tɛndaana, namely the people of Sawalɔg and Tɛndaaŋ; and this cleavage runs parallel to their clanship relations and ritual observances. (Throughout the area, as among the Gorisi and Namnam, a settlement or part of a settlement occupied by *tɛndaanditib* is usually referred to as Tɛndaaŋ, and *tɛndaanditib* lineages are often described as Tɛndaaŋdɛm.) But in several other clans *naditib* and *tɛndaanditib* are constituent maximal lineages of the same clan. This is similar to the distribution of ritual offices amongst the maximal lineages of a Talis clan; but in this case the *naditib* lineages are usually Namoos, whereas the *tɛndaanditib* lineages fall into line with non-Namoo clans like Sawalɔg and Sie-Tɛndaaŋ in their ritual observances and social alliances. Among these clans, therefore, the ties of clanship often cut across the cleavage between Namoos and non-Namoos; the social and political alinements of clans or maximal lineages in accordance with their ritual observances cut across their alinements by clanship ties. The general effect is to link Namoos and non-Namoos more closely together than in the Tongo district, but in a looser system than is found among the Hill Talis.[1]

The *tɛndaanditib* clans and maximal lineages of the Sie district declare

[1] *Naditib* is compounded of *na'am*, chiefship and *di* to eat—here in its metaphorical meaning of 'to have the prerogative of an office'—and the plural suffix *-b* (< *ba*), people; *tɛndaanditib* comes in the same way from *tɛndaan*, *di*, and *-b*.

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Funeral rites have a twofold symbolic value for the Tallensi. They symbolize the corporate unity and identity of the lineage and clan and its ties with other clans; but they also symbolize the group's dependence on and moral responsibility to their ancestors, collectively and individually. This is shown very well in the custom of each clan's using a particular kind of loin cover for the dead and in the associated custom of swearing an oath by the father's loin cover. They show that ritual symbols of social differentiation and association among the Tallensi are not mere emblems of intergroup differences. They are emotionally charged symbols of the fact that the corporate unity and identity of the group is created by the moral bonds of its members among themselves and of each member with the ancestors of the group. We shall return to this presently.

In spite of their deviant mortuary customs, the people of Gorogo, Ka'ar, and Teelag consider themselves to be, and are considered to be, as much a part of the Talis aggregate as any other Talis clans. Conversely it is known among the Talis that some clans of Gorisi and Namnam, as well as many of the *tendaanditib* lineages of the Sie district, dress their dead in a sheepskin loin cover. The Talis do not on this account acknowledge any of these groups as Talis or as being kin to them. Again, some clans in the Sie district gird their dead with an oribi skin. But they deny having any ties with Ka'ar. Indeed, their elders are quite unaware that they have this custom in common with Ka'ar, and are not in the least interested in hearing of it. This is a significant difference between the Namoos, all of whom have the same mortuary observances, and the Talis and their congeners. This difference extends to other manifest ritual usages that serve to differentiate corporate units from one another.

Certain other funeral rites are also stressed as rigorously distinctive of the Talis and as common to all of them. All Talis, it is said, conclude a funeral by the rite of *yma ma'ala*. Members of the deceased's maximal lineage, and the heads of the other lineages of the clan, contribute a large number of fowls, which are slaughtered as a sacrifice to mark the final departure of the dead person from the social sphere of the living and his aggregation to the ancestors. In reality, almost every clan has its own modifications in the details of the rite. In some clans it is performed for all males who have begotten children, in others for lineage heads only, in others for both men and women; and the people of Kpata'ar omit the rite altogether. The rite is found also among many of the *tendaanditib* lineages of the Sie district, with diverse local variations.

Similar local variations from clan to clan appear in the other parts of the funeral ceremonies where the usages of the Talis contrast with those of the Namoos, and many, if not most, of these distinct customs are found among the *tendaanditib* of the Sie district.

These variations in ritual observances, and their correlation with structural ties and cleavages, are constantly brought to an observer's attention. They form a common topic of discussion and comment at funeral ceremonies. One is often reminded of them by the behaviour of women at these ceremonies. A woman's husband's clan very often has different ritual practices from those of her father's clan. Now, married

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184 182 extra or exceptional avoidances usually consider them to be more distinctive of themselves, though not more important, than the general taboos. In other words, these avoidances emphasize the relative autonomy of the maximal lineage in opposition to the coherence of the ideological community; and this is the more conspicuous the farther away from the centre a clan is located.

619 It is significant, however, that clans with additional or exceptional totems are not considered to be the less Talis for that reason. The people of Degal, for instance, who belong to the central cluster of Hill Talis, claim to be 'Talɔŋ' *par excellence* in virtue of their supposed descent from the primordial, earth-begotten tɛndaana of the Hills. It is a question of degree, the primacy of lineage membership being relatively stressed in the totemic avoidances of the deviant clans, the interdependence of corporate units in the greater aggregate being relatively stressed by most other Talis. From the point of view of the Hill Talis, there are, as we have learnt, two levels of interdependence amongst the Talis. There is the interdependence of the Hill clans *inter se*, focused in the External *Bɔyar* cult, which extends as far as Zubiuŋ; and there is the interdependence of all the Talis—and in fact of Talis and Namoos—in the wider politico-ritual synthesis which emerges most conspicuously in the cycle of the Great Festivals. The clans associated in the narrower synthesis all tend to have the tortoise and the water-tortoise taboos; the clans associated only in the wider synthesis tend to have taboos stressing their genealogical autonomy; Zubiuŋ and Gbizug, which form the transition region, as it were, between the narrow association and the wide association, observe the tortoise and water-tortoise taboos, but do not consider them to be as distinctive of themselves as their special avoidances.

182 771 But this, we must not forget, is not the whole story. Totemic taboos, funeral rites, and *Bɔyar* ritual are symbols. What they symbolize is the body of moral and ritual norms correlated to each of the three zones of social relations we have been considering—the norms which are the organizing values of lineage, clan, and ritual community. As these rest, in the final count, on the mystical supremacy of the ancestor spirits, we can say summarily that these ritual observances symbolize the ancestors in the various aspects under which they govern social and individual life among the Talis.

The Significance of Animals as Totems

784 171 The totemic avoidances of the Tallensi all refer to animals, and it may well be asked if they have any common characteristics or outstanding peculiarities from the native point of view. Totemic avoidances of the type we have recorded are found throughout Voltaic culture; in fact, they are a notable feature of social organization among all the negroid peoples of the western Sudan. Not only is their pattern the same throughout this region, but the animal species most commonly prohibited are the same, and the myths accounting for the taboos have the same form.[1] To

[1] Cf. for example, the reference to the *Tse* among the Bambara, in Monteil, Charles, op. cit. 134–5.

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speak only of the Voltaic area, the animal species referred to above occur among the totemic avoidances of people as remote from the Tallensi, both spatially and linguistically, as the Isala and the Lobi,[1] as well as among all the other 'tribes' of the area.

Confining ourselves to Taleland and to the settlements of Gorisi fringing this area, we find that the totemic avoidances include birds like the canary (*wurəg*), the turtle-dove (*dayman*), the domestic fowl (*noo*), and several other species; reptiles, like the snake, the tortoise, the water-tortoise, and the crocodile; fish, like the *tunəg*; insects, like the large grasshopper (*saykaan*); rodents, like the squirrel (*sinsɛrəg*) and the hare (*suoŋ*); ruminants, like the goat (*buu*) and the sheep (*pchug*); carnivores, such as the cat (*sakoo*), the dog (*baa*), and the leopard (*yeogbaa*); and a variety of other animals, such as the monkey (*ymaaŋ*) and the bush-pig (*dee*).[2]

It is impossible to find any common trait amongst this variety of creatures. Some play an important part in the economic life and the food-supply of the natives, but the majority are negligible in this respect. Many are prized as delicacies by those who are permitted to eat them; and, on the other hand, some are despised as food. No adult would willingly eat grasshoppers, canaries, or small edible snakes, though little children, who eat almost any small animals they can lay their hands on, quite often do so. Several of these animal species are regarded as always potentially dangerous in the magical as well as the physical sense. Such are the crocodile, snakes, the leopard, and other wild carnivores. But many, on the contrary, are entirely innocent both in the magical and the physical sense. Some have a place in the meagre folk-lore of the Tallensi, including such diverse creatures as the monkey, the turtle-dove, and the cat. Cats, for instance, are considered to be pre-eminently the domestic companions of women, but with a streak of the wild animal in them. Women treat them with a mixture of solicitude, appropriate to a valued pet, and of pseudo-ritual respect that meets with good-humoured ridicule from the men. Incidentally, clans that have the cat as a totem show no particular respect towards household cats, nor are household dogs treated differently by people who may and people who may not eat the dog.

The totemic animals of the Tallensi thus comprise neither a zoological nor a utilitarian nor a magical class. All that can be said of them is that

[1] For the Isala and other 'tribes' of the Voltaic area, see Rattray, op. cit. His report on the Isala is in vol. ii, pp. 465 ff. For the Lobi, see ib., vol. ii, pp. 425 ff., and Labouret, op. cit., pp. 227 ff. Rattray does not distinguish clearly between the different kinds of ritual prohibitions and injunctions coupled with patrilineal descent, some of which are not totemic in the sense we have given to this term. But his observations and those of Labouret confirm the conclusion that there is no precise correlation between these avoidances and clanship ties. Labouret's account of the attitudes and values associated with totemic avoidances among the Lobi shows them to resemble closely those of the Tallensi.

[2] Rattray's list for this area, op. cit., vol. i, p. 236, includes also several big-game animals, such as the roan (*koo*), hartebeest (*scbog*), bush-cow (*yeognaaf*), and elephant (*scbog*), as well as the lion (*gbiaymor*), the hyena (*gbingbir*), and the hippo (*cmor*). But here, as elsewhere in the book, Rattray appears to have lumped together ritual observances that are similar in form though not in function, and he does not state clearly what clans or settlements hold particular taboos.

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they are generally fairly common domestic or wild creatures. We have shown that the totemic avoidances of the Tallensi have a symbolic value in relation to their social organization. They are not, however, explicable simply as a function of the social structure. We cannot dismiss the choice of animal symbolism for this function as an accident of history or as mere coincidence. To understand it we should have to probe more deeply into the religious beliefs not only of the Tallensi but of all the peoples of this culture area. Animal and food taboos play a very important part in the ritual symbolism of Voltaic culture and indeed of West African cultures in general. We have repeatedly emphasized the intrinsic relation of the religious system of the Tallensi to their social structure. In a social system such as theirs, ritual ideas and values and the morphology of the society are interrelated as mind and body in the higher primates. But these two aspects of Tale society are not merely the obverse and reverse of the same coin. Though Tale religion springs directly out of the social structure, it is fed by streams whose sources lie beneath and beyond the social structure. We cannot pursue this theme here in detail, for it leads to problems of Tale psychology, and indeed of human psychology, that lie outside the scope of this study. We can only give an indication of the line such an enquiry would take. To do this we must consider some other forms of animal symbolism that appear in Tale religious beliefs.

Taboos of the Earth

Animals of all kinds can be endowed with ritual significance for individuals or groups among the Tallensi. They become sacred objects (*baɣa*, sing. *bayər*) forming part of shrines (*baɣa*, sing. *bayər*) dedicated to named ancestor spirits, on which sacrifices are offered. A *bayər* animal is an individual animal or a species found in a particular place. Totem animals are not *baɣa*, since they are whole species respected everywhere and not associated with particular shrines.

Certain 'taboos of the Earth' (*tɛŋən kiha*) form a class of animal taboos standing between *baɣa* in the narrow sense and totems. Some Earth taboos are universal. Thus, throughout the Voltaic region it is a taboo to appropriate any unclaimed object of iron found lying on the ground. Other Earth taboos are specific to localities coming under the ritual jurisdiction of particular clans or lineages. All over Taleland large reptiles such as the crocodile (*baŋ*), the python (*waɣakpɛm*), the tree- and water-lizards (*wuk* and *wuu*) are taboos of the Earth. They may not be killed within the precincts of any important Earth shrine. In the bush, where men have no social bonds with the land, and therefore no ritual bonds with the Earth at specific places, they are not sacred. Binding on everybody, these taboos hold with extra force for members of lineages that have tendaanas (see also pp. 187–8 below).

Tallensi say these animals are 'the people of the Earth (*tɛŋən nirəba*)' as men are people of such and such a settlement. They symbolize the mystical power of the Earth as it acts on human life, sometimes beneficently, sometimes punitively. This is what the natives mean when they say 'The Earth is a living thing (*tɛŋ la a bonvor*)'.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE FORM OF TALE SOCIETY

The Socio-geographic Region

OUR survey of the macroscopic structure of Tale society has led us from the consideration of the natives' habits of grouping themselves by name, through an analysis of Tale clanship, to the ritual institutions that form the crowning mechanism of co-ordination in the system, and finally to the internal structure of the settlement and the lineage. An ethnographer accustomed to think of a native society as a unit of social organization marked off by precise territorial, political, or cultural boundaries might protest against our frequent references to 'Tale society'. But this habit of thought, appropriate enough in dealing with island communities, nomadic tribes, or territorially organized states, must be discarded if we wish to understand the structure of societies like that of the Tallensi. For the concept of a society as a closed unit, a sort of thing distinguishable from like things in the same way as one house is distinguishable from another or one animal from another, we must substitute the concept of society as a socio-geographic region, the social elements of which are more closely knit together among themselves than any of them are knit together with social elements of the same kind outside that region. We must substitute a relative and dynamic concept for an absolute and static one. If we look at the area of Voltaic culture as a whole, we can imagine innumerable currents of social life flowing through it in all directions. There are major currents and tributary currents. They intersect in all sorts of ways. But at particular places the forces of which the currents are an expression act in such a way as to draw together a large number, if not all, of the major currents. These regions of maximum confluence would correspond to what we have called a socio-geographic region, or a society. If we follow any single current from a region of maximum confluence it leads us right out of that region into another region. It is only if we look at the region from within that we see the coherence it has as a result of the confluence of many social currents.

But metaphors are proverbially treacherous and we must return to our proper subject-matter. The concept of society we have formulated enables us to see clearly the most characteristic feature of Tale society. It is a segmentary[1] system. At bottom this is a consequence of the fact that the Tallensi have not got a centralized, unified, political organization. This is clear if we compare the Tallensi with some other African peoples such as the Tswana of Bechuanaland Protectorate,[2] the Bemba of Northern

[1] Cf. Fortes, M., and Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (editors), *African Political Systems*, 1940, 'Introduction', and Evans-Pritchard, E. E., *The Nuer*, 1940.

[2] Cf. Schapera, I., *Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom*, 1938, and 'The Political Organization of the Ngwato', in *African Political Systems*, cited above.

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631 Rhodesia,[1] or the Ashanti of the Gold Coast.[2] These peoples have a
171 pyramidal social structure corresponding to their pyramidal form of government. From the village to the tribal unit we find a hierarchy of territorial-political units, the greater made up of a collection of the lesser, and culminating in the whole tribal unit. This is associated with a corresponding hierarchy of political offices, from the village headman to the paramount chief at the apex. Among the Tallensi[3] there is no single person or body of persons vested with supreme executive and administrative authority over the whole of Taleland. Government is laterally distributed amongst all the corporate units that make up the society, instead of being vertically distributed as in pyramidal societies. All the corporate units are, broadly speaking, politically equal; all are segments of the same structural order.

621 This is one aspect of what is meant by describing Tale society as segmentary in form. But the concept has further implications. The corporate units that compose Tale society are not a casual agglomerate of discrete bodies, but are socially articulated and interconnected with one another; and they are thus interrelated in a segmentary series. This principle of association between defined social units runs right through the structure of Tale society. It means that small units of a particular form are, like cells, associated together into larger units of the same general form, and these again associated into still larger units of analogous or identical form, and so on up to the limits of the system. This rule holds whether the associations are temporary, for a particular end, or form permanent groupings. Furthermore, the principles according to which the associations occur are either uniform for a whole series of segments of increasing dimension or are so related to one another that principles operating on one level presuppose the principles operating on a lower level.

128 This is an architectural way of looking at the structure of Tale society. It is the line we have largely followed in the preceding chapters, where we have been concerned with the largest corporate units into which the Tallensi are organized. Our attention has been fixed mainly on the permanent edifice in which social relations and activities are congealed rather than on their emergence in process. We have been analysing the product of social segmentation rather than the process itself. To distinguish between product and process is, however, merely an analytic convenience in dealing with social facts. In reality what we denote as a product is a set of regularities and recurrences of process. A corporate unit is really the sum total of corporate relations and activities occurring amongst a defined group of individuals. We can think of a maximal lineage as an architectural segment of a composite clan in the same way as we can picture one storey of a modern building as a lateral segment of the whole. A maximal lineage, however, differs from a part of a building of brick and wood in that it is not always 'there', tactually and visibly.

[1] Cf. Richards, Audrey I., 'The Political System of the Bemba Tribe', in *African Political Systems*, and *Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia*, 1939.

[2] Cf. Rattray, R. S., *Ashanti Law and Constitution*, 1929.

[3] A fuller analysis will be found in the 'Introduction' and in my article on 'The Political System of the Tallensi' in *African Political Systems*.

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food, beer, tobacco, kola nuts, and household and farming equipment, must be hoarded. One result has been that the Gɔlibdaana's ambitions have been enormously inflated. He has been striving to turn his wealth into prestige. He would fain be a great chief, and has for years been scheming and intriguing to this end. As is common in African societies to which European contact has opened up new economic opportunities that are wholly or partially divorced from their own social structure and economic system, the Gɔlibdaana's response to the opportunity offered by the pilgrim traffic has been a mixture of cupidity, calculation, and unbridled self-interest.

The point of interest here is the effect of the Gɔlibdaana's monopoly on the interrelations of the Hill Talis clans. All the other clans of the Hills view it with open envy, in particular Kpata'ar, the clan immediately contiguous with the Gɔlibdaana's clan, Bunkiuk. The people of Kpata'ar claim political superiority to Bunkiuk, on the strength of their being (as they assert) *primus inter pares* in the scheme of ritual collaboration among the Hill clans. They therefore demand the lion's share of the pilgrim traffic with the south, though they are now wholly excluded from it. The other clans of the Hills excluded from this traffic make similar but smaller demands. It is, in effect, a demand for a distribution of the profits of this new economic application of the *Bɔyar* cult on the same lines as the distribution of the traditional client villages. In the traditional arrangement the economic exploitation of the cult follows the accepted principles of equality and equilibrium in the social system. Each of the dozen or so *Bɔya* of the Hill Talis had its group of client communities exclusively reserved for it and there were no great variations between the profits of one *Bɔyar* and another.

An immediate result has been that the Gɔlibdaana no longer exercises undisputed headmanship, as the executive agent of the Administration, over all the Tɛnzugu clans. In 1933 he was in control of all the Tɛnzugu clans in all matters falling under the jurisdiction of the Administration. He called out the young men for road building or rest-house repairs; exacted a tribute from all independent householders living on top of the Hills or entitled to live there; and judged all cases brought against Tɛnzugu people or sent on cases from Tɛnzugu to other headmen or chiefs. Since 1936 the Kpata'ar faction has refused to submit to his control in these matters. Meanwhile the Administration has ruled that neither the Gɔlibdaana nor the Kpata'arna'ab shall be recognized as headman of the Tɛnzugu clans until the people have settled among themselves which of them is rightfully entitled to the post. So there are now two headmen.

To-day a silent feud, taking the form of intrigue and conspiracies to undermine one another's reputation with the Administration, rages among the Hill Talis. On one side stands the Gɔlibdaana and his faction, the nucleus of which is the majority of his own maximal lineage; on the other the factions hostile to him, chief of which is the maximal lineage of the Kpata'arna'ab. The struggle has become so acute, on several occasions, that bloodshed was only prevented by the fear of stern intervention by the District Commissioner.

The feud follows the lines of cleavage between clans and maximal

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initiands next day. They have been treated throughout with veiled contumely, like infants and outcasts, seated on the bare ground, their backs to the ceremonial. When the sacrifices are over and the beer consumed, the initiands are brusquely dragged up, each in turn, to the altar of the bɔɣar. Kneeling before it, quivering with fear, his eyes blindfolded by the hands of one officiant, his hands clasping a chicken whose neck he saws off on a rough stone with the help of another officiant, he is made to swear repeatedly "If I tell anybody may I die." This then is the secret of the impregnability of the Tallis bɔɣar cult both to the Namoos and to the ethnologist.

Before they leave, the meat and flour of all the sacrifices are divided out according to strict rules of prerogative; the initiands being fed with a tiny piece of meat and flour dumpling each. The rôle of each participant kinship group is defined in terms of the officiant it elects, the contributions it makes to the sacrifices, and the share of meat, beer, and flour it receives. The natives stress this organizational balance more jealously than details of ritual; for it is the structural framework which preserves the ritual collaboration. Finally, all the communicants, including those newly initiated, are daubed on brows, arms, and knees with consecrated red mud, the concrete emblem of the beneficient magic they are carrying home.

Bɔɣaraam, like Daa, is the occasion when married daughters return home with gifts of food and guinea fowls from their husbands, and men who have migrated to distant parts try to return for the ceremonies. Dancing follows after the ritual day. But as each settlement dances by itself, the Bɔɣaraam dancing is neither so impressive nor so great a focus of social interest as Gingauŋ. This time the Namoos are onlookers, for they may not enter the Tallis dances.

The Bɔɣaraam festival of the Hill Tallis thus appears to be homologous with the Gingauŋ and Daa of the Namoos, and the Daa of Baari, in its calendrical reference and its functional context. For Chief, Tendaanas, and elders, the fathers of the community who bear the greatest burden of responsibility for its welfare, the ritual is the dominant theme. For those of lesser social responsibility, the dancing and festivity, the fellowship of jubilation, are of major value. For everybody, these are festivals of reunion in which family and wider agnatic connections, the unique fact for the individual of having been born into a certain family and clan, receive special emphasis.

But what must chiefly interest us, in this paper, is to observe how these festivals differentiate and bind the Namoos and the Tallis. On the one hand it seems as if each community consolidates itself socially and morally by the very act of repulsing its neighbor. Behind its stone wall of exclusiveness,